

CEPPS/IRI Quarterly Report: January 1, 2005 – March 31, 2005

COUNTRY: ANGOLA

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I. SUMMARY

The International Republican Institute (IRI) continued to expand its relations with various Angolan political parties in the first quarter of 2005. We held several meetings with high-level members of the União Nacional pela Independência Total de Angola (UNITA), and continued training and communications workshops with that party. IRI also worked to improve relations with the ruling Movimento Popular da Libertação de Angola (MPLA) by making several new contacts within the party. Other IRI events included a series of training workshops with the Partido Renovador Social (PRS), one of Angola's smaller opposition parties, and sponsorship of the first National Conference by the Women's Caucus. Onofre dos Santos, Director of Elections in Angola in 1992, published his analysis of those elections and gave consultations on his conclusions, both with IRI support. The Dos Santos book was a long-awaited segment of both IRI and National Democratic Institute (NDI) programming that should serve as an important base in future elections programs.

II. BACKGROUND

In his end of the year speech for 2004, President José Eduardo Dos Santos made ambiguous reference to elections in 2006. Avoiding reference to "general elections," he noted that "the people will get to choose their representatives." This has been understood to mean that only legislative elections are to be scheduled, not presidential elections. The new Minister of Territorial Administration, the government body which ran the logistical, material, and technical aspects of the electoral process in the 1992 elections, called a meeting of all 18 provincial governors to discuss their needs, setting September 2006 as a firm date for the election.

In mid-January 2005, competing election law proposals from the MPLA and opposition parties were introduced to the National Assembly, where they went to review by committee. Despite potential problems in the formulation of the election law, the MPLA and UNITA appear to have agreed on a final version. IRI continues to work with other NGOs and embassies in discussion of the proposals.

III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

USAID Retreat in Lobito

USAID held a retreat including NDI, IRI, and the new resident IFES coordinator. Other D7G partners attended, such as Catholic Relief Services, AFD, Search for Common Ground (CCG) and World Learning. The retreat's discussion centered on developing new evaluation indicators. As a result, IRI intends to create a political party index that rates the growth of political parties along several axes, to create a composite score that reflects how many functional political options exist for Angolans. Part of the retreat agenda also included meetings with provincial representatives of political parties. The Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola (FNLA), UNITA, PRS and Partido Liberal Democrático (PLD) were represented. MPLA was invited but did not attend. These sessions made clear that much more work is needed in the provinces and that national party leaders do not share much of their learning. This will be a severe handicap when it comes time to register new voters, but a significant portion of IRI's future activities will focus on the development of provincial networks, through an initial assessment visit to key provincial party offices / leaders, and a follow-up consultation to determine how those contacts have implemented a communication plan with central party headquarters.

Onofre dos Santos

This quarter, IRI worked closely with Onofre dos Santos, the former Director of Elections from Angola's 1992 elections. IRI, in partnership with NDI and IFES, handled the publication of his analysis of the 1992 elections, and distributed this publication for informational purposes.

Onofre has also participated in IRI-organized workshops with NDI, and several high-level meetings with major political parties. IRI, NDI, and Onofre met with the Minister of Territorial Administration (MTA), the Vice-Minister of the MTA and the Minister of Telecommunications to discuss election preparations. Voter registration seems to be one of the biggest obstacles the MTA faces, especially since most Angolans do not have sufficient identification documents. The Minister of the MTA has also expressed concerns that voter registration can only be executed in dry season. The MTA is waiting for election laws to be passed by the National Assembly to begin organization of a National Elections Commission. Onofre also participated in discussions on the composition and competency of this Elections Commission. Since the last elections in 1992, the MTA has expressed a lack of institutional memory of election conduct, and was grateful for Onofre's participation in the current process. The Ministers are interested in Onofre's book and will explore the idea of inviting him back to make a presentation and share his experience as former Director of Elections.

Election Law Proposals

Election law proposals by the MPLA and opposition parties were introduced to the National Assembly on January 18. These proposals were to be reviewed in committee, at minimum, for a 30 -day period. IRI has conducted work on these two election law proposals, holding a section by section review of the MPLA election law proposal with NDI, and has discussed both proposals with NDI, the political officers at the U.S. and British embassies, and UNITA. These discussions and analyses have identified several problematic areas in the proposals, and IRI has drawn attention to this fact with the all parties invested in the process. NDI participated in a

joint pitch to political parties to advance more evaluation of the election law proposals. Although UNITA and the MPLA have agreed on a final version between them, NDI's analysis of this version shows that it does not allow enough election observation. Encouraging more observation in face of this decision poses a challenge, for both NDI and IRI.

PRS

IRI continued to expand its relationship with the Social Renewal Party (PRS) through an ongoing training program continuing into future quarters. Every two weeks for a year, the top leadership of PRS will meet with IRI-Angola for three full days of training. This is important since they will most likely act as coalition-builders if the election results are in dispute next year. The first three-day training session focused on self-analysis of values and core messages, and how those messages can be communicated and developed. Later sessions included trainings on press conferences, political rallies and advance team work, voter registration, and some analysis of the MPLA proposal regarding voter registration. IRI also hosted consultations between PRS and Onofre dos Santos, during which Onofre expanded on his analysis of the competing election laws. IRI is pleased with the growth of its relationship with PRS. Our first sessions with them were attended by twenty high-level members, including the party's president, and their chief strategist and MP. From all accounts, PRS is very engaged and eager to catch up to the sophistication level of UNITA.

Women and Gender

An IRI-sponsored trainer, Mary Beth Barber of California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger's office, held a communications workshop with the Women's Caucus on such topics as event preparation, communication strategies, political rallies, events planning, message developing, how to organize a press conference, and how to work with media. Participants from the Women's Caucus included MPLA and UNITA delegates and political parties without seats in National Assembly. Feedback from the workshop was positive, and participants were enthusiastic at meeting a female trainer associated with a recognizable political figure.

At the Ministry of Agriculture's auditorium, in front of a national audience, with television and newspaper teams present, IRI then sponsored and participated in the first National Conference by the Women's Caucus, with an attendance of over 150. In a round-table format, IRI presented its national poll, emphasizing some of the data based on gender. In attendance were Ministers and other government VIPs, almost all the female deputies in the National Assembly, and government workers who held high posts in all of the ministries. IRI's presentation sparked debates and dialogue amongst the various organizations.

The Women's Caucus is comprised of eleven ministers and ex-ministers, and close to forty female deputies and ex-deputies, largely from the MPLA. The President of the Women's Parliamentary Group (an MPLA MP) asked to keep IRI's PowerPoint poll presentation for further training and personally expressed her gratitude for IRI's participation. Further conversations were held with various MPs, especially from the MPLA, regarding potential areas of interest. The President of Women's Parliamentary Group Women Parliamentarian Group sent a letter of thanks recognizing IRI's gift of 30 books of Onofre dos Santos' 1992 elections analysis. IRI has been informed that this book is being used in the Caucus' work groups.

UNITA

IRI meetings with UNITA representatives continued throughout the quarter, although new training events were at first delayed owing to UNITA's focus on the introduction of the electoral law. Early in the quarter, IRI had a substantial meeting with Adaberio de Costa, the primary spokesperson for Dr. Samakuva (UNITA President) to discuss future cooperation and a suggested calendar for the coming months. IRI later met with Samakuva himself to discuss his perspectives on the election law proposals, and on future programming in Luanda as well as in the provinces. Also in attendance were the vice-president and general secretary of UNITA. IRI agreed to begin new trainings as soon as possible.

A follow-up UNITA press conference on ten principles for democracy was a generally positive event. However, Dr. Samakuva's implication that he is going to be UNITA's presidential candidate, which we believe to remain unsettled within UNITA itself, suggests that UNITA's internal decision-making process might benefit from future attention.

An IRI sponsored-trainer held a communication workshop with UNITA regarding the same topics covered with PRS and the Women's Caucus. She was very impressed with the group's grasp of theory conception and media relations. UNITA expressed further interests regarding communication strategies. IRI also hosted a private consultation with NDI's electoral network analysis of the competing election laws.

MPLA

This quarter saw continued improvement in IRI's relationship with the MPLA. IRI-Angola has met with two MPs and a central committee member who have agreed to be advocates and introduce us to more MPLA members. IRI has also sent letters to the information minister and to MPLA headquarters, generally offering sessions with Onofre dos Santos and one of our trainers. We also had a phone conversation with Bornito de Sousa, the MPLA bench president at the National Assembly, regarding private Onofre consultations, the Onofre book launch, and an upcoming fraud workshop. IRI also held a strategy session with MPLA deputy Moises Kamabaya to discuss better ways to communicate with the MPLA, potential contacts, and access to MPLA female deputies.

Polling

AI-P, IRI's local polling partner in our 2003 national poll, is undergoing re-organization following the death of its CEO. At present, the firm can only involve itself in exploratory meetings. We submitted a written request that they deliver the raw data from our previous poll to our offices. The firm expressed its interest in working for IRI in designing and executing future poll work. A future polling date is uncertain. IRI is currently exploring options for other polling firms to interpret the data so we can make poll presentations in the outlying provinces, and we are looking into available and reasonably priced regional firms to conduct future polling projects, as well as American pollsters who might work with AI-P in developing capacity to engage in a largescale poll.

Registration, Work Permit, & Visas

IRI has successfully registered with the Ministry of Labor and the Ministry of Justice. Both the U.S. embassy and the Foreign Ministry have asked us to consider registering with UTCAH, an Angolan government body which registers humanitarian organizations. Although such registration requires disclosure of sensitive information (details on bank transactions and other financial activity) as well as the opening of a government bank account, IRI is doing its utmost to meet this request in order to fully comply with Angolan law.

IRI has finalized the work permit application for our Resident Program Officer from the Angolan Embassy in Washington, DC, and the application is now with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Luanda in process. Judging from recent precedent, IRI does not expect a finalized permit for several months, but it constitutes another step in IRI's quest to remain present and productive in Angola.

While IRI's expatriate employees continue to receive only 30-day visas, and have been leaving the country for visa renewal on a regular basis, indications are now that the ordinary 30-day visa can be renewed three times in-country before travel out of the country will again be necessary. We appreciate the guidance provided by USAID, the US Department of State, and the Angolan Embassy in Washington, DC, in determining how best to deal with this ongoing issue, and we are confident that IRI now has a support network of sorts in place should visa issues once again become urgent in relation to programmatic demands.

IV. RESULTS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Result 1: Effective participation by parties in the next elections through training and organizational assistance.

IRI's work this quarter focused on building party participation in the provinces. During the USAID retreat in Lobito we met with provincial representatives of the FNLA, UNITA, PRS and PLD. We have met with the president of UNITA to discuss future programming in the provinces. IRI has also conducted analysis with PRS, one of the smaller parties, on the topic of voter registration, and developing effective proposals for enhancing registration.

Result 2: More issue-based political party agendas by providing opportunities and incentives for political parties to develop, articulate and utilize clear and distinct platforms.

In this quarterly period, IRI conducted training sessions with UNITA and other parties on media relations, communication strategies, and effective development of core issue-based messages. IRI training sessions in this period also focused on press conferences, political rallies and advance team work. We have also, through consultation with NDI and Onofre dos Santos, encouraged political party analysis of the competing election laws.

Result 3: Increased women's participation in political parties and encouragement of parties to address issues of concern to women.

IRI's communications workshop with the Women's Caucus focused on event preparation, communication strategies, political rallies, events planning, message development, how to

organize a press conference and how to work with media. Participants from the Women's Caucus included MPLA and UNITA delegates and political parties without seats in the National Assembly. This event gave IRI a national audience and direct engagement with female ministers and deputies. Positive feedback from this event from the president of the Women's Parliamentarian Group, an MPLA deputy, indicates that future IRI events focusing on women's participation will be welcome.

V. EVALUATION

This quarter's past activities have helped IRI to further fulfill its programming objectives. The increased contact and involvement with the MPLA is a hopeful sign of more positive involvement with the ruling party. Cooperation and work with the MPLA needs to be continued in the subsequent activities in Angola.

IRI continues to work with various opposition parties, fostering the viability of a multi-party system. Focusing not only on UNITA but also less visible parties such as PRS, has been met with positive feedback and IRI will increase such participation.

In addition, IRI's move out into the provincial areas of Angola has bolstered contact on the local-level, with visions for increased interest and participation by rural residents. This aspect of the program will be maintained and emphasized as provincial party networks are put in place and benefit from the organizational guidance detailed in IRI's future activities. IRI's evolving workplan provides a timeline for establishing a presence throughout Angola.

VI. FUTURE ACTIVITIES

Note: This award concluded this quarter. References to future activities are for IRI's new CEPPS Associate Award No. 8035 for Angola. During the next quarter, IRI expects to focus on the following activities:

Party Programming

IRI will continue to conduct trainings and workshops with MPLA, UNITA, and PRS. Trainings will include a potential retreat with new MPLA stakeholders, UNITA capacity-building, and workplan trainings with all three parties. We also plan on holding trainings on the creation of a party workplan with PAJOCA, another of Angola's smaller parties.

Nationwide Polling

IRI plans on expanding our polling presentations into the provinces. This may require us to change to a new polling firm. In the meantime, we will continue to analyze the raw polling data we have already obtained from AI-P and explore options detailed previously in this report.

Other

IRI will continue to seek a work permit for its Resident Program Officer, and complete its in-country registration. IRI also plans to develop a political party index to rate the growth of

political parties along several axes, creating a composite score that reflects how many functional political options exist for Angolans.